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ABSTRACT

Recent new patterns in Mexico-United States migration are examined briefly, and the implications of each for planning and implementing adult education programs are discussed. The patterns noted include: (1) migration of greater distances and from new areas in Mexico, both to border areas in Mexico and to locations in California and the West Coast; (2) increases in migration flow; (3) and "shuttle migration," or movement back and forth between home and work areas. It is predicted that United States-Mexico economic integration will increase existing difficulties in providing adequate and appropriate education. A substantial investment in educational services is seen as necessary and justifiable. In addition, services must be tailored to the specific demographic characteristics of different migrant populations (older, traditional migrants, younger populations motivated to learn new language and vocational skills, and women) in order to be most effective. (MSE) (Adjunct ERIC Clearinghouse on Literacy Education)

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MEXICO-U.S. MIGRATION PATTERNS: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF BINATIONAL COLLABORATION IN ADULT EDUCATION

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by Ed Kissam

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Introduction

Adult educators in the 1990's will find themselves, more and more often, to be at the center of public debate on key elements of local, state, and national social policy. This development is inevitable because, as we move toward an increasingly globalized economy, we accelerate at the same time even more rapidly toward an "information society" and an "information economy". The twin issues of "basic skills" and "ongoing lifelong learning" are currently of crucial concern to both Mexico and the U.S. -- not simply in terms of educational policy and practice, but also in connection with the politically charged issues of immigration policy, workforce productivity, and economic self-sufficiency. Movement toward a North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) will further change the skills demands placed on adult learners in both Mexico and the U.S.

The current conference is extremely important, not only as the beginning of an important collaboration among educators from nine states in two countries, linked by a common concern. It is, also, important as a recognition that it is extremely difficult to understand our current situation unless we adopt a transnational perspective.

Paulo Freire makes the astute observation that acquisition of basic skills, e.g. reading, is really a metaphor for adults developing a whole repertory of analytic and communication skills. The fundamental recognition that adult education must concern itself with adults' life strategies -- most importantly employment, but also, overall patterns of life -- provides the underpinning for regional collaboration by U.S. and Mexican border states.

What do the adults we serve need to learn? And what do we need to learn about them to facilitate that learning? The key issue facing us here is how to best grapple with the needs of adult learners who are already living their lives in two cultures, in two countries. The social reality -- in Mexico, in California, in Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico is that labor market where the majority of adults will be employed for thirty to forty years of their lives is one which demands not only a wide range of analytic and communication skills but

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also requires some measure of strategic planning on the part of individual workers to deal with a labor market which is becoming increasingly chaotic.

At the same time, businesses, educational institutions, policy makers must develop an understanding of a multi-cultural labor force in a constant state of flux, a population which not only migrates geographically, but also, which is transformed by tremendous occupational and social migration. The 19th century image of a "normal" life -- growing up in a small town, entering a career (often one's father's or mother's), raising one's children in that same town is no longer the norm for either Americans or Mexicans.

Here I would like to summarize for you very briefly some of what is currently known about Mexico-U.S. migration and the implications for planning and implementing programs to serve adult learners on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border.

1 Mexican and U.S. Border States are both Destinations for Migrants from Other Areas of Mexico

Mexican and U.S. border states are experiencing phenomena which are similar in some crucial respects. Both are migrant destinations. In the 1960's and early 70's, there was tremendous migration from rural areas of Mexico to urban areas in Central Mexico -- e.g. Mexico, D.F., Guadalajara, Puebla.[1] As the economic problems of the mid-70's became more severe, northward migration increased once again, not only to U.S. employment but to rapidly industrializing areas of northern Mexico -- Tijuana, Mexicali, Ciudad Juarez, Reynosa, and Matamoros. Rural-urban distinctions are, in fact, as important as national ones in understanding and addressing the issues stemming from current migration.

The Mixteco Diaspora

One example of the changing patterns of life and migration is a village in the Sierra Mixteca where 85% of adult men, 55% of women, and 34% of the children have migrated at least once.[2] While in the past, one of the most important migration destinations was to work in sugar cane in Veracruz, villagers must now travel farther. By the 1980's common destinations included not only cotton and tomato firms in Sinaloa, but also, tomato and citrus work in California's Central Valley, and Tijuana. Slightly less than one-fifth of these

workers (19%) migrated to Tijuana, 11% to Nogales, and one-third went to California destinations.

Now, in the 1990's, Mixtecos, from the most remote areas of Mexico, now make up about 5-10% of the California farm labor force, are an important population sub-group in Tijuana, and have displaced Texas migrants from some areas of the Oregon strawberry and Washington asparagus harvest. Mixtecos are also heavily represented in South Florida.[3]

Migration from Western Mexico

Our farmworker research for the Department of Labor and the Commission on Agricultural workers strongly suggests that villages which have not been traditional migration sending areas --in the states of Colima, Nayarit, and Guerrero -- are building migrant pathways north.[4] In contrast to "traditional" patterns of farmworker migration northward, these new migrants are working in urban, non-agricultural occupations in Tijuana and Los Angeles, as well as in California, Oregon, and Washington. Their work experience in Mexico also appears to be more diverse than migrants from the "core sending areas" of Mexico.

Migration into Nuevo Leon, Tamaulipas, and Texas

Northeastern Mexico and Texas both are receiving areas for migrants from Central Mexico -- including both "traditional sending areas" such as Guanajuato, Zacatecas, and Durango and other central Mexican states such as Queretaro, San Luis Potosi, and Hidalgo. There also continues to be substantial rural to urban migration within the "local" areas of Tamaulipas, Nuevo Leon, and Texas. Workers arriving in these areas, like the migrants from Western Mexico, work in urban non-agricultural occupations as well as farmwork.

Implications

1. Adult educators in Mexican and U.S. border states face similar problems providing both life skills and career-related learning opportunities for arriving migrants from rural areas of Mexico. These problems will, in the short-run, be exacerbated by the movement toward U.S.-Mexico economic integration[5]. In the long-run, economic integration has the

potential of yielding benefits to both countries but only with the emergence of a binational social policy which addresses critical issues relating to "human capital" investments.[6]

2. The occupational histories of important sub-groups within the current stream of migrants suggest that a substantial number of them, unlike the generation who preceded them into U.S. farmwork, will eagerly seek pathways to upgrade their "basic skills" to allow them to compete for jobs in manufacturing and service industries and, eventually, career ladders to move upward in their occupations or change occupations.

3. Increasing industrialization in northern Mexico and increasingly sophisticated labor-intensive large-scale agricultural production in northern Mexico, spurred by the movement toward U.S.-Mexico free trade will draw more migrants from both rural and urban areas and increase the proportion of migrants whose work lives will be spent partially in Mexico and partially in the U.S.[7]

4. Because worklives will be increasingly binational, adult "basic skills" curricula will require increasing attention to career planning, learning to learn, and basic information on similarities and differences between the "world of work" in different industries and on different sides of the border. Adult learning programs will need to address not only workplace demands but issues relating to the "life skills" needed to live as a member of binational community.

2. Migration Flows are Larger than has generally been appreciated and are increasing during the post-IRCA period.

From the perspective of the residents of many rural villages in Mexico, there is already a binational labor market and the majority of workers contemplate working in the U.S. and in Mexico during their work lives.[8] Current migration research also suggests that the size of migration flows in the post-IRCA period are increasing. Transnationalism is already a way of life and will become an increasingly prevalent lifestyle.

Recent studies in widely separated areas of the U.S. labor market show that between one-fifth and one-third of current U.S. farmworkers first came to the U.S. after passage of IRCA.[9] The one area where migration to U.S. farmwork is on the decrease is the lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas where there is currently a very large surplus of workers.[10] An theoretical analysis of migration networks suggests that this process will

accelerate as the costs of migration decrease.[11] Related research indicates that the probability that a worker from a traditional sending village in Central Mexico will work in the U.S. at some point in their life approaches certainty.[12] Several studies of Mexico-U.S. migration patterns from traditional sending communities show that the majority of men in the rural study communities in Michoacan and Jalisco have migrated to the U.S.[13]

A key concept in understanding migration flows is that of *norteńizacion* -- a term coined by Rafael Alarcon to describe the ways in which migration becomes institutionalized. Other leading researchers such as Cornelius, Massey, and Mines all stress the fact that migration patterns, once established, tend to be quite stable. Another important phenomenon related to *norteńizacion* is that migration initiates a process of transformation in sending villages. Thus, sending villages are being Americanized in many ways -- satellite dish TV antennas, placas (grafitti) from Los Angeles, pickup trucks, and portable radios are now commonplace in some villages.[14]

Sending communities in Mexico have developed extensive community "funds of knowledge" about migration destinations in the U.S. These funds of knowledge are constantly updated by returning migrants and expanded as migrant networks mature and move into new occupations. However, the "conventional wisdom" in sending villages systematically over-estimates the benefits of working in the U.S. and under-estimates the costs. Since migration is stimulated not only by "push-pull" factors of earnings differentials between Mexico and the U.S. but, also, by perceptions about the overall "socioeconomic gradient" between sending and receiving areas, information flow may affect migration patterns.in areas where migration is not yet institutionalized.

Implications

1. The high level of migration between the U.S. and Mexico suggests that there is tremendous need for a "binational basic skills" curriculum preparing transnational migrants for the workplace demands of both countries, basic survival skills in both countries, and for the family stresses which arise from living in communities which are radically different.

2. Educational institutions can, if they provide potential migrants with a curriculum designed to provide an enhanced basis for making migration decisions, play an important role in both individuals' lives and in community life. Such an "economic strategies" curriculum, by allowing migrants to make more informed "career choices", can have an

impact on the volume of migration flows and, at the same time, serve to provide those who do migrate with basic information to assist them in overcoming the hardships they will face.[15] While efforts to "formalize" migration have many drawbacks, adult education programs focused directly on building migrants' problem-solving skills have the potential of making job search and job-changing more efficient while decreasing worker rights abuses.[16]

3. Not All Migrants Settle in their Migration Destination. In the Post-IRCA period the proportion of sojourners or shuttle migrants will increase.

A key misperception in U.S. immigration policy has stemmed from inadequate appreciation of the distinction between settlers and sojourners. Because Mexico and the U.S. share a common border, migrants may or may not settle in the U.S. It was widely assumed that the very high numbers of Mexican immigrants legalized under IRCA were settled or would settle in the U.S. In fact, some settle in the U.S., some continue to work and live in both countries, and some return to Mexico after a limited period of time in the U.S.[17] Their needs require preparation for life in both workforces, both cultures, and both social contexts.

In fact, a number of indicators suggest that the numbers of "shuttle migrants" working both in Mexico and the U.S. is high. Our farmworker research indicates that about one-third of the workers legalized under the SAW program continue as "cyclical migrants". In contrast, farmworkers who do not have papers are more likely to remain in the U.S. for a relatively long period of time -- because their migration costs are higher than those of legalized workers (who can simply drive "home"). However, two opposing forces are at work simultaneously. Lower migration costs for legalized workers increase the feasibility of shuttle migration but, alternatively, legalized workers can initiate petitions for their spouses and minor children to join them in the U.S.

The current experience of U.S. and Mexico border states with border commuters -- in the lower Rio Grande Valley, in Ciudad Juarez-El Paso and southern New Mexico, in Arizona, as well as in Tijuana-San Diego and Mexicali-Imperial County is one important mode of binational work and living arrangements -- a pattern likely to increase with U.S.-Mexico free trade.

Implications

1. Because programs which strive to provide the most effective learning opportunities to adults must adapt themselves to the rhythms of adult learners' lives, there will be an increasing need for "anytime, any place, any pace" learning opportunities.. The high levels of shuttle migration challenge U.S. and Mexican educators to develop an integrated framework and institutional network for learning. Such a vision probably requires simultaneous pursuit of two different approaches -- 1) organizational networking, including curriculum coordination and integrated referral to adult learning programs; and 2) adaption of educational technology (laptop computer-based learning systems, audio tapes, and videotapes) to allow more opportunities for self-directed learning programs.

2. Closely-linked neighboring cities along the border provide an ideal laboratory to develop models for binationally-coordinated adult learning programs. Closely-linked communities which are more geographically distant, e.g. Tijuana, B.C. and Madera, CA provide unique opportunities to pioneer new technology-based approaches.

3. Because work and learning are so intimately tied together, adult education service delivery strategies will be enhanced by incorporating grass-roots community leaders into their outreach strategies and piggybacking adult education on the very efficient informal extended family networks. Such strategies would, for example, seek to enroll households of lone male farmworkers, or portions of extended family networks in a single "class section" rather than relying on "walk-ins" to a traditional classroom.

4. The investments needed to make a significant impact are probably quite high but can be objectively justified on a number of grounds.

The current information society makes extensive demands on the human intellect in terms of the modalities of information retrieval and communication, in terms of the types of personal interactions which transpire, and in terms of personal flexibility and contingency planning. In return, the productivity of workers who have acquired the necessary conceptual and communication skills increases dramatically. Barring the possibility of widespread "downskilling" of jobs in an integrated North American economy, prudent social investment suggests that adequate (increased) spending to increase adult learning opportunities will be more effective than minimal investments. This is because there is a

"threshold effect" (i.e. investments in adult learning have virtually no payoff until they allow the learner to achieve "minimum" competencies).

Economic integration between Mexico and the U.S. will, by creating a more complex and turbulent labor market, require constant "enrichment" of the "basic skills" curriculum (improvement in quality of learning as well as broader and more equitable service delivery), in addition to efforts to close the current gap.

Yet the basic skills gap is already quite large. Recent studies of farmworkers of Mexican origin is amazingly consistent in showing farmworkers from rural Mexico to have about three years of schooling on the average. The group includes fairly equal representation of persons with very little education -- one year or no education at all and persons with five or six years of schooling. However, the same studies and informed observers agree that there is also an increasing number of arriving migrants from urban areas and non-agricultural background with quite extensive educations -- up to the *secundaria* or *preparatoria* level. The educational profile of Mexican migrants to the U.S. is increasingly uneven.

As the proportion of immigrants in major immigrant receiving communities in California, Texas, and other border states increases, opportunities to informally learn English are decreasing because more and more workplace interactions take place in Spanish.

Clearly, the investments required to provide transnational migrants with the basic skills to participate freely in an increasingly binational labor market are substantial. While the investments required to build such skills are high, so are the returns. A number of studies show the earnings of Mexican immigrants to the U.S. to be positively correlated with educational level. However, careful consideration of the current labor market trends indicate that the problem of the "threshold effect" has not yet been fully appreciated.[18]

Implications

1. The breadth of the current "basic skills gap" absolutely necessitates educational delivery systems which facilitate protacted participation in ongoing learning. The amount of skills upgrading required for transnational migrants to achieve career mobility in a binational labor market is so extensive that it becomes necessary to seriously address the question of

how best to allow adult learners to move through an educational continuum. Because there is such a need to facilitate "ongoing learning", programs on both sides of the border will benefit tremendously from increased coordination designed to maximize the chances that adult learners will not simply sample one adult education class and drop out (because of migration, dissatisfaction, family pressures) but that they will, instead, establish educational objectives which are both achievable and adequate to yield them real return.

2. The high priority of creating successful strategies for binational workers to study over a relatively long period of time to achieve meaningful educational objectives suggests a need for increased "educational counseling" -- dialogue between counselors (or teachers) and adult learners to establish an individual learning plan which is feasible. Such plans may well include participation in adult learning programs in both Mexico and the U.S.

3. Binational coordination to facilitate programs which allow adult learners to continue an individual learning plan even if they migrate are likely to increase the cost-effectiveness of the educational delivery system because, without such a coordinated systems, interruptions in the learning process result in skills being lost and then made up again, and in a greater probability that the learner will give up before reaching their objectives.

4. Adult educators in both Mexico and in the U.S. should seek to insure that ongoing policy debate regarding immigration, trade, and workforce productivity take into account the tremendous paybacks that can be expected to result from of binational efforts in adult education and use these cost-benefit analyses as a basis for increasing current levels of investment in adult education. One recent study which recognizes these dynamics and recommends increased investments in education is the 1990 Report of the Commission for the Study of International Migration and Cooperative Economic Development: Unauthorized Migration: An Economic Development Response.

5. The Demographic composition of the migrant population is an important factor in determining need for services and most effective program design

Demand for adult education services is closely tied to life cycle and social role. Age and gender are important determinants of individual's desire to undertake a program of adult learning and strongly affect the types of program design likely to be most effective. Current educational planning has given little attention to estimating the total "market" for

adult learning opportunities and achieving the proper balance between quantity and quality. Because many adults will not seek out adult learning programs (and may have no need to), efforts to assure top-quality services to those adult learners who do seek to upgrade their skills are affordable.

A crucial distinction within the population of Mexico-U.S. migrants, especially farmworkers, is the distinction between young, "pioneer" migrants, and older, long-term cyclical migrants. The long-term migrants have achieved a relatively stable occupational niche -- as commuting farmworkers, target earners in construction, restaurant or some other low-skill occupation. The younger, pioneer migrants are a group who are very highly motivated to learn English and new vocational skills. Older, settled immigrants to the U.S. will seek out English as a Second Language courses but their learning objectives tend to relate to "life skills" than younger learners who will seek and be well-suited to undertake "comprehensive" skills upgrades.

Another important service group is women. Migration from rural Mexico to the U.S. results in tremendous changes in the social roles of women. The survival of families who only have access to low-wage occupations in the U.S. almost always requires that a husband and wife both work. In farmworker communities in California at least, large numbers of women who are now working in agriculture or some other standard job have little experience working outside the home.[19] Women's movement from work in the informal sector in rural Mexico to standard jobs in the U.S. puts tremendous stresses on these women and their families.

Implications

1. A key element in fine-tuning binational adult education programs to respond to the needs of migrants is to develop curricula which are tailored to the characteristic learning objectives of distinct population sub-groups. In principle, all adult learning must be firmly tied to individual needs. In practice, it is useful to develop a curriculum which responds to the concerns which characterize one socially distinct group of learners or another. The mix of sub-groups varies significantly from one community or social context to another.[20]

2. Because so many migrants have so little experience in traditional learning environments (e.g. the standard classroom), instructional designs which emphasize peer support and informal interaction among learners are likely to be the most successful. Because so many

occupations dominated by immigrants are partially or totally sex-segregated (e.g. garment workers, construction workers, tree pruners), worksite literacy programs will probably benefit from building on existing networks of peer support among co-workers and extending those mechanisms to the learning process.

Conclusion

The life styles and life strategies of Mexico-U.S. migrants reflect a variety of complex adaptions to fundamental issues of survival, economic stability, and self-realization which they face. The life strategies of families who are now members of transnational communities are unique and entail unfamiliar ways of structuring one's life. This requires a uniquely high degree of creativity and innovation on the part of the institutions which serve them.

Collaboration among the border states in developing not simply new classes, or new curricula, but, indeed, a new system for delivering educational services to adults who are undergoing tremendous personal and social transformations will be a crucial element in improving learning opportunities for migrants.

Investing the time, conceptual energy, and financial resources necessary to build a versatile and coordinated network for adult learning which responds to the particular needs of a very large population of migrants whose lives take place in "transnational communities" can be expected to have tremendous paybacks to the population itself, to the businesses on both sides of the border who hire them, and to the difficult process of moving toward economic integration in North America.

We need to know much more about Mexico-U.S. migration patterns to fashion the ideal response to the adult learning needs of transnational migrants but we already know enough to make a very strong beginning toward the collaboration, institutional growth, and curriculum development needed to make the vision of "anytime, anyplace, any pace" learning a reality.

NOTES

[1] Atlas of Mexico, 1988. Oaxaca and Guerrero, states which have not traditionally had the high levels of migration to U.S. agriculture as states such as Michoacan, Jalisco, Guanajuato, and Zacatecas, had very high levels of rural-urban migration.

[2] James Stuart and Michael Kearney, "Causes and Effects of Agricultural Labor Migration from the Mixteca of Oaxaca to California", Working Paper 28, Center for U.S.-Mexico Studies, University of California, San Diego, 1981. See also Michael Kearney and Carole Nagengast, "Anthropological Perspectives on Transnational Communities in Rural California", California Institute of Rural Studies, 1989.

[3] Personal communication, Anna Garcia; also FLSS tabulations (Kissam, Griffith, et al.) Garcia conducted the field research for a study by the California Institute of Rural Studies of Mixtec farmworkers in California. The study, which will be published in 1992, will provide additional insight into the group's migration patterns.

[4] My review of Mexico-U.S. migration focuses primarily on findings stemming from our recent research on the Post-IRCA U.S. farm labor market. Our work includes survey research and ethnography in eight U.S. states (including Texas and California). These findings are reported in a study for the Office of Policy, U.S. Department of Labor, Ed Kissam, David Griffith, et al. FInal Report of the Farm Labor Supply Study: 1989-1990, Micro Methods, October, 1991. Additional observations reported here stem from summer, 1991, field research for the Commission on Agricultural Workers by Anna Garcia and Ed Kissam (forthcoming, 1992).

[5] Douglas Massey, "Economic Development and International Migration in Comparative Perspective", Working Paper # 1, Commission for the Study of International Migration and Cooperative Economic Development.

[6] See Phillip Martin, "Labor Migration and Economic Development", Working Paper #3, Commission for the Study of International Migration and Cooperative Economic Development.

[7] David Runsten of the California Institute of Rural Studies argues that free trade will not result in as radical a transformation of patterns of agricultural production in Mexico and the U.S. as many have predicted. However, there will be changes in the mix of production. Runsten's argues also that the single largest dislocation induced by free trade will result from import of U.S. grain into Mexico. The expected result would be increased migration from "core sending areas" of Mexico rather than from the Mexican border states. Presentation, CIRS Conference, "Immigration Policy and Farm Labor", Berkeley, December 13, 1991.

[8] Wayne Cornelius at the University of California, San Diego and Douglas Massey, at the University of Chicago have been leaders in investigating migration from traditional sending communities and analyzing the policy implications. Other key researchers include Richard Mines, Michael Kearney, Rafael Alarcon, Roger Rouse, and Luin Goldring. The relevant literature is too extensive to cite here but is fair to say that processes and patterns of migration are well understood qualitatively but that quantitative estimates of migration flows (many of which rely on INS data, census data, or other standard data sets) are less reliable.

[9] About 20% of the workers in the "upstream" farm labor markets we have studied (Washington and Michigan) are post-IRCA arrivals. From 35-40% of the workers in "downstream" areas we have studied (Florida and California) are post-IRCA arrivals.

[10] A series of freezes has seriously decreased the availability of winter work in Texas citrus. Many migrants who formerly sought work in Texas are now travelling to destinations in South Florida.

[11] Douglas Massey and Felipe Garcia Espana, "The Social Process of International Migration", Science, 1988.

[12]Douglas Massey, Katherine Donato, and Zai Liang, "The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986: Preliminary Data from Mexico", in Bean, Edmonston, and Passel, Undocumented Migration to the United States, The Urban Institute Press, 1990..

[13] Douglas Massey, Rafael Alarcon, Jorge Durand, and Humberto Gonzalez, Return to Aztlan, The University of California Press, 1987.

[14] See Wayne Cornelius, "Labor Migration to the United States: Development Outcomes and Alternatives in Mexican Sending Communities", Commission for the Study of International Migration and Cooperative Economic Development, March 1990. Additional documentation is provided by Richard Mines in "Las Animas: A Village of Migrants 10 Years Later", July, 1988 (unpublished).

[15] It is useful to distinguish between the objective of "managing immigration" and the objective of "controlling immigration". Very high levels of migration have negative social and economic consequences not only for receiving communities in the U.S. but for sending communities in Mexico. Cornelius and Mines have described these in some detail. While "controlling immigration" is a code word for stopping immigration and features prominently in the political agenda of nativist groups such as FAIR, I mean by "managing immigration", efforts not to stop immigration but to decrease the economic and social chaos which results from extremely high levels of migration. Managing migration can potentially decrease the levels of underemployment and improve the earnings of those who do migrate, while retaining the flow of remittances to sending villages. It can also allow institutions in receiving areas to build the service capacity to meet the needs of immigrants. A critical problem stemming from politically-motivated and ineffective efforts to control immigration such as IRCA are that they make more measured responses (i.e. those with the objective of allowing ongoing but moderate migration flows) to the problems of international migration more difficult to adopt.

[16] Village and extended family based migration networks provide means to achieve a surprisingly good balance between labor supply and demand and to buffer migrants from the risks of migration. While institutional analogues cannot function as rapidly or as effectively as "natural" networks, the existing informal networks do not always have access to accurate information which is relevant to migration decisions, workers' rights, and other legal and social issues of critical importance to migrants.

[17] Recent ethnographic work by Juan Palerm and his associates emphasize the fact that there is a broad continuum of migration strategies between the two poles of "settlers" and "sojourners". See Fred Krissman, "Six Farmworker Case Studies Originating in California, Zacatecas, and Oaxaca: The Ties between Receiving and Sending Communities", Unpublished Field Research Progress Report, July, 1990.

[18] However, occupations dominated by immigrants benefit from the educational competencies of "overqualified" immigrant workers but seldom provide economic compensation for those competencies. Economic strategies for relatively well educated immigrants in the U.S. labor market, at least, require them to secure the basic educational competencies required to move out of immigrant-dominated occupations or start their own businesses. Upward career ladders within immigrant-dominated occupations such as farmwork may, in fact, provide some rewards for educational competencies (e.g. computation ability) but the relationship is less direct.

[19] See Ed Kissam and Jo Ann Intili, "California's Legalized Farmworkers: Program and Policy Implications", January, 1989, for details on women's pre-migration and current occupations. This paper also explores both male and female farmworkers' occupational aspirations.

[20] For a detailed discussion of strategies for tying adult education program design to the characteristic learning objectives of different sub-groups, see S.J. Velarde et al., The Adult Education of Migrant Farmworkers, prepared by Slaughter Associates for the Office of Vocational and Adult Education, U.S. Department of Education, January, 1991.